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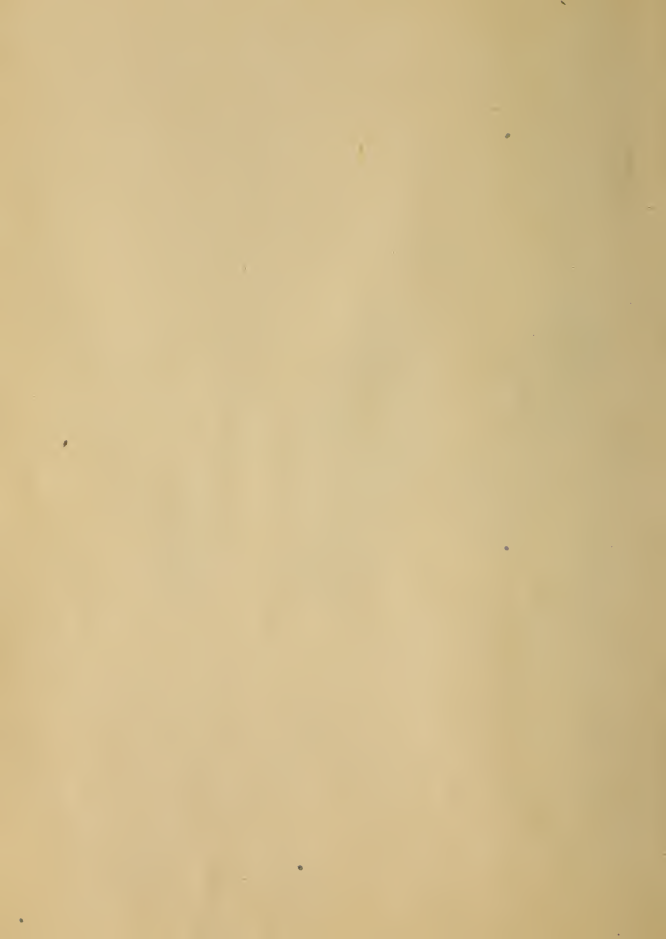
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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.





THE HISTORIC BASIS

OF

THE TITLE

OF THE

Protestant Episcopal Church.

BY

EDWARD INGLE, A. B.,

AUTHOR OF

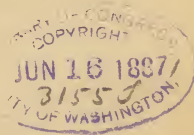
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PREFATORY NOTE.

The author of this pamphlet having observed that few historic facts were brought forward in the debates in the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church on the change of the title of the Church, wrote a brief account of the adoption of the title for *The Sun*, Baltimore, October 28, 1886. He afterwards extended the study of the subject, and the result was three articles which have recently appeared in *The Southern Churchman*, of Richmond, Va., and which, with some slight changes, are now presented in pamphlet form. The object of the publication is, avoiding controversy, to set forth briefly and clearly all the facts in the history of the Church bearing upon its title, and to express succinctly what appear to be the logical conclusions. The author takes this opportunity of recognizing the valuable assistance rendered him by Miss Margaret H. Whittingham, Librarian of the Stinnecke Episcopal Library, Baltimore, Md.

E. I.

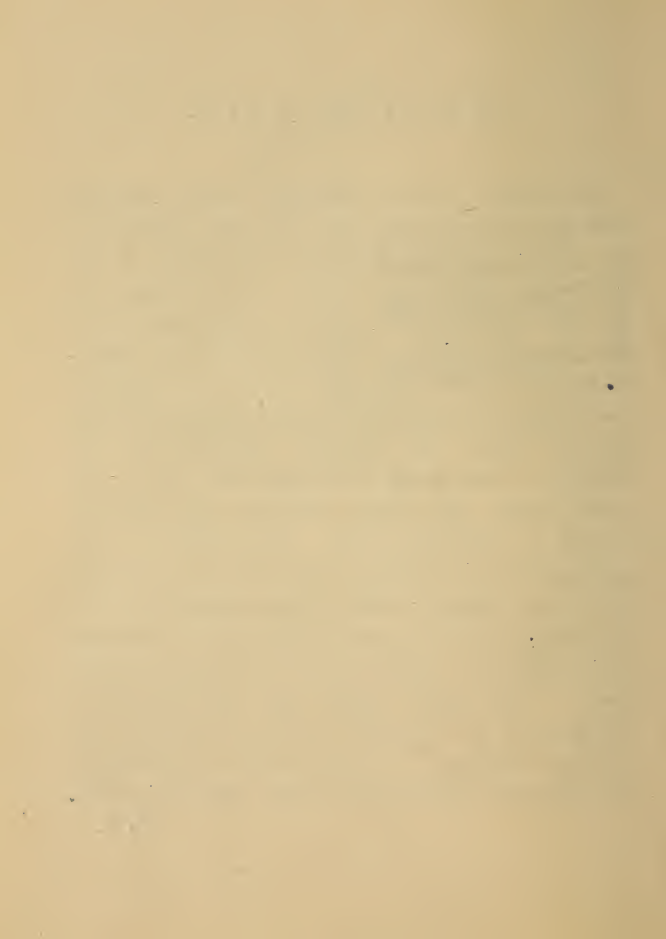


TABLE OF CONTENTS:

I. WAS THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND PROTESTANT?—Causes of Reformation—Attitude of Colet—Influence of Germany—Protestantism of the Articles—Anti-Roman Canons—The Church in Convocation—The Ordination Oath—Views of Cosin—Actions of Ken, Turner and Lloyd—Statements of Strype, Sherlock, Chillingworth, Fuller and Laud—Definition of the Church's Position.

II. THE NAME IN THE COLONIES.—Characteristics of the Settlement of America—General Phraseology Relating to the Name of the Church—Society for the Propagation of the Gospel—Virginia—Maryland—Pennsylvania—New York—Trinity Church—Massachusetts and Connecticut—Other Colonies.

III.—THE ADOPTION OF THE TITLE.—Efforts to Obtain the Episcopate for America—Opposition to the Church in the Colonies—The Revolution—Efforts to Reorganize the Church—Archbishop Secker's Use of the Title—The Title Neither Novel Nor Irregular—Appeal to the Church of Scotland—Character of the Title—Its First Use—The New Brunswick and New York Meetings—First General Convention—The Name in the Dioceses—Subsequent Conventions—White's Views—Bishop Seabury and the New England Clergy—Conclusion.

I.

WAS THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND PROTESTANT?

In the sixteenth century great nations of Europe broke the shackles of ignorance, superstition and formalism in worship with which they had been bound during the middle ages, and made rapid progress towards the liberty of modern civilization. As in all revolutions of society, so in that great awakening many persons mistook liberty for license, and great excesses were committed in the name of reform; but reform was made in spite of opposition from without and of strife within the company of reformers. The influences in Church and State, which had been silently working for generations, came suddenly to the surface of society, and as they were attacked the stronger they became. The fall of Constantinople, in 1453, and the consequent impetus given to the revival of learning in Western Europe, the possibilities for mental and physical energies engendered by new world discoveries,

inspired men to the search for truth in politics and religion, in which they were aided by the kindred inventions of paper and of printing.

As the scholastic philosophy yielded to the New Learning, and as nations were born in the decline of the empire, there was a mighty change in the religious and ecclesiastical sentiments of Western Christendom, which found expression in an opposition to the overweening power of the Papacy, whose spiritual supremacy had become subsidiary to temporal aggrandizement, and when the power of the Church of Rome had been successfully defied, men turned their attention to the betterment of their spiritual condition, and, while some may have grievously erred, the great body of Reformers strove earnestly for a Scriptural faith. Norway, Sweden, Denmark and parts of Germany and of Switzerland were among the first people to accept the new condition of things produced by the movement which bears the historical name Protestant, derived from the action of the reforming princes at the second Council of Speier in 1529. In the Netherlands the germs of Protestantism developed gradually,

and in France, after a long and bitter struggle, during which the nation lost much of its strength, the Papacy was triumphant, until, amidst the horrors of the Revolution, even the semblance of religion was cast aside.

In England, where the Church had been in a greater or less degree allied to the see of Rome since the advent of Augustine to her shores, the desire for reform in the Church had existed many years before Luther nailed upon the church door at Wittenberg his protest against the sale of indulgences. Notwithstanding her insularity, the Church of England had not been free from the depravity, which was described by Cardinal Belarmine as “almost an entire abandonment of equity in the ecclesiastical judgments, in morals no discipline, in sacred literature no erudition, in divine things no reverence, religion was almost extinct;” * and, according to Blunt, “the minds of men had petrified in certain forms of theological language, which had been developed partly by ‘circumstances’ and partly by vigorous thinkers of a preceding age.”† Purgatory had

* Jennings. *Ecclesia Anglicana*, p. 134.

† Blunt. *History of the Reformation*, etc. Vol. I, p. 10.

been practically substituted for hell in the Church's doctrines, the communion in one kind was administered, the holy communion, losing its thanksgiving characteristics, came to be considered as a sacrifice of propitiation for souls in purgatory, and "chantry priests" were employed solely in offering masses for the dead. Connected with errors in doctrine were gross superstitions, the worship of images and relics, Mariolotry, and the belief in the efficacy of indulgences. From a relaxation of penances, in cases where the offender showed contrite sorrow, the practice of granting indulgences gradually became a kind of pre-exemption from the consequences of sin on the part of Crusaders who fell in battle, and finally a mere license to do evil. The hawking of these indulgences was ultimately monopolized by the Dominicans, and the sight of Tetzels, the Dominican engaged in this traffic, caused Martin Luther to share in the indignation which had been felt for years.

But men were not wanting in the Church of England to rebuke errors and to seek to purify the Church from evil practices. Warham, Arch-

bishop of York, Grocyn, the instructor of Erasmus, and Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, recognized the importance of the New Learning, and with the new aid, the Greek language, carried on their theological research. Colet fearlessly attacked the vices of his age in his address to the clergy at St. Paul's in 1511. "Nothing," he said, "hath so disfigured the face of the Church as hath the fashion of secular and worldly living in clerks and priests." He berated the clergy for "running after dignities," "carnal concupiscence," "covetousness" and secularity. He called on the bishops to free themselves from nepotism and simony, "which corruption, which infection, which cruel and odious pestilence, so creepeth now abroad as the canker evil in the minds of priests," and urged them to be more careful in ordaining priests.*

Those early Reformers were vigorous and bold in their attempts to purify the Church, but they did not contemplate the separation from Rome, which was the keynote of the Reformation in England. It was left for Henry VIII, from base

*Blunt. Reformation. Vol. I., pp. 10-50.

motives, it is true, to be the instrument of freeing the Church from the Roman alliance, and, asserting more powerfully and more emphatically a right, for which there were several precedents, to repudiate that power which had conferred on him the title, "Defender of the Faith." It is not the purpose of this paper to narrate the history of the Reformation in England, the complications of the reign of Henry VIII, due to the intermingling of religion, politics, ecclesiasticism, worldliness, self-seeking and piety, the excesses of Edward VI's reign, the martyrdoms of Bloody Mary and the Puritan ascendancy in the seventeenth century, but looking back from the opening years of the eighteenth century, when, with an open Bible and Prayer-book, and freed from mediævalism, the Church was heartily engaged at home and abroad in disseminating her doctrines through such mediums as the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts and the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge.

No one can reasonably deny that England was Protestant after the Spanish Armada had been

launched against her, after James II, in his attempts to Romanize the kingdom, had lost his throne, and after the Act of Settlement of 1701, whereby the succession to the crown was “limited to the Princess Sophia, electress of Hanover, and the heirs of her body being Protestants;” and if other evidence was wanting, it might be argued from the close interconnection of Church and State, and from the fact that Churchmen, lay and clerical, produced the Protestant legislation, that the Church was also Protestant. But this fact is based upon other arguments. The Thirty-nine Articles, to which every deacon was obliged to subscribe on entering the ministry, are concentrated Protestantism.

Archdeacon Hardwick, an authority on the subject, in speaking of the Augsburg Confession, says that it “is most intimately connected with the progress of the English Reformation, and besides the influence it cannot fail to have exerted by its rapid circulation in our country it contributed directly, in a large degree, to the construction of the public formularies of faith put forward by the Church of England. The

Thirteen Articles drawn up, as we shall see, in 1538, were based almost entirely on the language of the great Germanic Confession, while a similar expression of respect is no less manifest in the Articles of Edward VI, and consequently in that series which is binding now upon the conscience of the English clergy.”* Hardwick not only makes such a statement, but devotes some pages of his work to discussing it. But it is not necessary to connect the Articles with German Protestantism to demonstrate that they are protests against Romanism.

They bear the impress of the conflicts of the Church, and the Articles, as finally ratified by Church and State in 1571, assert that “the Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England;” “as the Churches of Jerusalem, Alexandria and Antioch have erred, so also the Church of Rome hath erred, not only in their living and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith;” “the Romish doctrine concerning purgatory, pardons, worshipping and adoration, as well of images as of relics, and also in-

* Hardwick, *History of the Articles of Religion*, p. 43, cf. pp. 61-66.

vocation of the saints, is a fond thing, vainly invented and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the word of God;" "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation, so that whatsoever is not read therein nor may be proved thereby is not to be required of any man;" "it is a thing plainly repugnant to the word of God and the custom of the primitive Church to have public prayer in the Church or to minister the sacraments in a tongue not understood of the people;" "there are two sacraments ordained of Christ our Lord in the gospel—that is to say Baptism and the Supper of the Lord ;" "Confirmation, Penance, Orders, Matrimony and Extreme Unction (commonly called sacraments) are not to be counted for sacraments of the gospel, being such as have grown partly of the corrupt following of the Apostles, partly are states of life allowed in the Scriptures, but yet have not like nature of sacraments with Baptism and the Lord's Supper, for that they have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God ;" "transubstantiation (or the change of the substance of bread and wine)

in the Supper of the Lord cannot be proved by Holy Writ, but is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, overthroweth the nature of a sacrament, and hath given occasion of many superstitions;” “the sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be gazed upon or to be carried about;” “the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper was not by Christ’s ordinance received, carried about, lifted up or worshipped;” “the cup of the Lord is not to be denied to the lay people;” and “the sacrifices of the masses, in the which it was commonly said that the priests did offer Christ for the quick and the dead to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits.”*

Not only in her Articles, but also by her Canons, the Church expressed her Protestantism and raised her voice against the abuses which had crept in through the Roman influence. Canon XL of 1604 calls simony a detestable sin. Canon LXXXII of the same year provides for a decent table for “the celebration of the holy communion.” Canon X of 1606 states that a

* Articles of Religion, II, VI, XIX, XXII, XXIV, XXV, XXVIII, XXX, XXXI, XXXVII.

man errs greatly when he affirms "that the intolerable pride of the Bishop of Rome, for the time still being, through the advancement of himself by many sleights, stratagems and false miracles over the Catholic Church (the temple of God), as if he were God himself, doth not argue him plainly to be the *man of sin* mentioned by the Apostle." Canon III of 1640 provides "for the suppression of the growth of Popery;" and Canon VI of that year ordains an oath to be taken by all in orders against the "usurpation and supersition of the See of Rome."† To the Convocation of prelates and clergy of Canterbury in 1689 William III sent a message, through the Earl of Nottingham, that he had called together the Convocation "out of a pious zeal to do everything that may tend to the best establishment of the Church of England," and that he would propose nothing but what should be advantageous both to the Protestant religion in general, and particularly of the Church of England. The Bishops prepared an address in which they thanked the King for his zeal "for the Protestant

† Cardwell, *Synodalia*, vol. I, pp. 270-293.

religion in general and the Church of England in particular.” The lower house of Convocation, in which there were no laymen, objected to certain portions of this address, particularly the phrase “Protestant religion,” and claimed the right to frame an address themselves. But the upper house contended for the phrase, against which objections had been raised, and their principal reason was that “it was the known designation of the common doctrine of the Western part of Christendom in opposition to the corruptions of the Romish Church.” After some days’ discussion, an amended address to the King was signed by the whole Convocation, expressive of their deep gratitude for his “zeal for the honor, peace, order and establishment of the Church of England, whereby, we doubt not, the interest of the Protestant religion in all other Protestant Churches is dear to us, will be better secured.”*

The opposition to the Papacy was, moreover, shown in the oath, dating from 1661, that every deacon was obliged to take before ordination, by

* Cardwell, *Synodalia* Vol. II, pp. 695-698; Lathbury, *History of Convocation*, p. 330.

which he declared "that the King's highness is the only supreme governor of this realm, . . . as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes as temporal." The oath substituted for this under William and Mary, obliged the candidate to swear "that I do, from my heart, abhor, detest and abjure as impious and heretical that damnable doctrine and position, that princes excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, or any authority of the See of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects or any other whatsoever," and "I do declare that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state or potentate hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, eminence or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm." The latter oath was used until 1868, when for it was substituted another, repeating the words of the Act of settlement.* In the coronation office the oath administered by the Archbishop of Canterbury, which oath originated during the reign of William and Mary, binds the sovereign, to the utmost of his or her power, "to maintain the laws of God, the

* Blunt, *Annotated Book of Common Prayer*, p. 549.

true profession of the gospel and the Protestant reformed religion established by law.”* The Act of Union with Scotland, which was consummated in 1707, provides for a “Protestant succession,” and treats also of the “Protestant religion established by law in the Church of England.”

As Convocation ceased to be a business body by 1722, and was not revived until the middle of the present century, the Church was represented in legislation only through her members in Parliament; but with the suppression of Convocation, which had originally been the taxing agency, the Church did not lose existence. The sentiments of the Church in her collective capacity and in her relation to the State having been shown, the actions and words of Churchmen may be adduced as corroborative evidence of the Protestantism of the Church. One proof of the fact that Churchmen of the most rigid schools considered themselves and the Church to be Protestant, is the affection shown by them for the foreign Reformed Churches. Bishop John Cosin, of Durham, who Fuller said was “the

* Elliott. *The State and the Church*, p. 22.

Atlas of the Protestant religion,”* while he was in France, wrote as follows: “I never refused to join with the Protestants, either here or anywhere else, in all things wherein they join with the Church of England;” and, referring to the Episcopacy: “If upon this ground we renounce the French, we must, for the same reason, renounce all the ministers of Germany besides (for the superintendents that make and ordain ministers there have no new ordination beyond their own presbytery at all), and then what will become of the Protestant party?” In another place he called attention to the Church’s position regarding other Protestant Churches when he wrote that “always in my mind and affection I join and unite with them; which I desire to be chiefly understood of Protestant and the best Reformed Churches;” and in his will he wrote: “As for our brethren, the Protestants of foreign Churches Reformed, the most learned and judicious of themselves have bewailed their misery for want of bishops. But, as for our perverse Protestants at home, I cannot say the same of

*Fuller. Worthies of England. Vol. I, p. 484.

them, seeing they impiously reject that which the other piously desire.* Other Churchmen showed by their acts or words that the Church of England made a common cause with Protestant Churches of the Continent. When the Edict of Nantes was revoked in 1685, the Huguenots of France turned naturally to England as a place of refuge, and they were welcomed by Churchmen of all schools. Thomas Ken (1637-1711), Bishop of Bath and Wells, who was later one of the non-jurors, not only made an appeal on their behalf in a sermon before James II, but also gave them £4,000; a chapel at Thorney Abbey was tendered them by Francis Turner (1636-1700), Bishop of Ely, and William Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph, and afterwards of Worcester, also helped them financially. The same individuals, with Archbishop Sancroft and Archbishop Bramhall, were powerful upholders of the Church of England in her relation to Romanists, which "was from first to last, and from the highest of High Churchmen to the most latitudinarian of low, one of deep, uncompromising hostility."†

*Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology. Cosin's Works, Vol. I, p. 32, Vol. IV, pp. 397, 483.

†Overton, *Life in the English Church* (1660-1714), pp. 349-352.

But Churchmen of widely differing schools called the religion of the Church of England, or the Church itself, Protestant. Rev. John Strype, in dedicating to Archbishop Tillotson his “Memorial of Archbishop Cranmer,” wrote: “For it is true what the Romanists say in obloquy, but we Protestants say it to his eternal fame, that he was the first of all the Archbishops of Canterbury that made a defection from the Papal chair.”* And when narrating the troublous times of the sixteenth century, he wrote: “As for the Protestants, some were put in prison, some escaped beyond sea, some went to mass, and some recanted, and many were burned and ended their lives in the flames for religion’s sake.’ They that were in prison, whereof Cranmer was the chief, etc.”† Bishop William Sherlock wrote in 1687 a short work, entitled “A Short Summary of the Principal Controversies Between the Church of England and the Church of Rome, Being a Vindication of Several Protestant Doctrines,” and in 1688 one called “A Preservative

*Strype. Memorial of Archbishop Cranmer. Dedicatory Epistle.

†Strype. Memorial &c. Vol. III, p. 147.

Against Popery, Being Some Plain Directions to Unlearned Protestants How to Dispute with Romish Priests.” William Chillingworth, one of the greatest logicians and controversialists of the Church of England, in his “Religion of Protestants a Safe Way to Salvation,” published in 1687, referred to “the Protestant Church of England,” and asked the Romanist, in language based upon the position of the Church of England : “What confessions of Protestants have you for the antiquity of the doctrine of the communion in one kind, the lawfulness and expediency of the *Latin service* ; for the present use of indulgencies ; for the Pope’s power in temporalities over princes ; for the pictures of the Trinity ; for the lawfulness of the worship of pictures ; for your beads and rosary and Ladies’ Psalter ; and, in a word, for your whole worship of the Blessed Virgin ; for your oblations by way of consumption, and therefore in the quality of sacrifices to the Virgin *Mary* and other saints ; . . . for infallibility of the Bishop of the *Church of Rome* ; for your prohibiting the Scripture to be

read publicly in the Church in such language as all may understand," etc.*

Fuller, referring to the clergymen whose lives he recorded, characterized them as "holding their places not from the Pope, but their prince, and practising the principles of the Protestant religion for the term of a hundred and twenty years, since the latter end of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, * * the main champions of truth against error, learning against ignorance, piety against profanation, religion against superstition, unity and order against faction and confusion." †

Archbishop Laud, who stood forth during Charles the First's reign as the champion of the Church of England against Popery and Puritanism, having ably defended himself against his enemies during his eight months' trial, but who was executed January 10, 1645, on Tower Hill, said, in his address on the scaffold: "I hold him (the king) to be as sound a Protestant (according to the religion by law established) as any man

* Chillingworth. *Religion of Protestants*, pp. 49, 312.

† Fuller's *Worthies*. Vol. I, p. 21.

in this kingdom, . . . and I think I do or should know both his affection to religion and his grounds for it as any man in England," and "I was born and baptized in the bosom of the Church of England established by law ; in that profession I have ever since lived, and in that I come now to die. This is no time to dissemble with God, least of all in matters of religion, and therefore I desire it may be remembered, I have always lived in the Protestant religion established by law in England, and in that I come to die."*

It is unnecessary to quote other Church writers in this connection, for from the preceding extracts it can be seen that the English king, and the English State in Parliament assembled, regarded the religion of the Church of England as Protestant, which opinion was shared by the Church in Convocation; Churchmen called themselves and their fellow members of the Church Protestant, and considered their Church to be one of the bulwarks against Romanism in a doctrinal sense as their country had been since the days of Elizabeth against the political power of

* Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology, Laud's Works, p. 433.

Rome. Their struggles with ultra-Protestantism after the reign of Edward VI are sufficient evidence of their firm belief in the Episcopal character of their Church and of their purpose to improve it, and it is not necessary to quote in their defence from Bancroft, Saravia, Bramhall, Bingham, Cosin, and other champions of Episcopacy. Jennings says that, during the reign of James I, the Church of England had "informally adopted the title Protestant," giving it the sense of Reformed Catholic. This appropriation of the term is sanctioned, even by such Anglicans as Andrewes, Ken and Laud." *

Another century did not change this appellation, and when the Church enlarged her borders by extending her care to the English colonies in America she remained Catholic in holding fast to the primitive faith of the Church universal, Episcopal in abiding strictly by the Apostolic order in her ministry, and Protestant in opposition to Papal presumption and Roman error.

* *Ecclesia Anglicana*, p. 342.

II.

THE NAME IN THE COLONIES.

The settlement of America by Englishmen presents several curious anomalies, when viewed from an ecclesiastical standpoint, and demonstrates the great influence of politics upon the sovereign's policy in Church affairs, resulting from the close connection of Church and State. Charles I, a staunch Anglican, whose reign was marked by the struggle of the Church against Romanism and an active Puritanism, granted away a large portion of Virginia, the outpost of the Church in America, to the Romanist, Lord Baltimore ; Charles II, who was himself a Romanist at heart, was induced by his Papist brother, the Duke of York, afterwards James II, to grant Pennsylvania to William Penn, at a time when England was suffering the effects of the reaction against Puritanism. Distance enabled those New Englanders who had professed great love "for the Church of England, from

whence we arise, our dear mother," to forget that Church as well as the terms of the charters, in the cases of charter settlements ; and the early charters and constitutions of Carolina were as contradictory and as heterogeneous as was the scant population before 1690.

The Rev. Hugh Jones, of Virginia, characterized the ecclesiastical condition of the Colonies in the early years of the eighteenth century in the following vigorous though hyperbolical sentence, viz : "If *New England* be called a receptacle of dissenters and an *Amsterdam* of Religion, *Pennsylvania* the nursery of the Quakers, *Maryland* the retirement of *Roman Catholics*, *North Carolina* the refuge of runaways, and *South Carolina* the delight of buccaneers and pirates, Virginia may be justly esteemed the happy retreat of *true Britons* and *true Churchmen* for the most part.* He wrote at a time when the Church of England in America was represented chiefly by her members in Virginia and Maryland, but when also the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was actively engaged in sending

* Jones. Present State of Virginia p. 48.

forth its missionaries, strengthening the Church of England in colonies where there was an establishment, and planting the Church in other colonies. That society, established in 1701, and including among its incorporators the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishops of London, Worcester, Ely, Rochester, Gloucester, Chichester, Bath and Wells, Chester and Bangor, and prominent clergymen, noblemen, merchants and professional men, was to supply "the want of learned and orthodox ministers to instruct others of his (majesty's) subjects in the principles of true religion," whereby "divers Romish priests and Jesuits were the more encouraged to pervert and draw them over to Popish superstition and idolatry."

It is not surprising, therefore, to read in an account of the work of the society, published in 1704, such a phrase as "the French and Papist interest, against that of England and the Reformed religion ;" that in New York "the Protestant religion is settled here by act of Assembly, as established in England," and that in Philadelphia there "is an Episcopal Church,"* or to learn

* Anderson. Colonial church, Vol. II, pp. 751, 766.

that the society's missionaries called themselves Protestants, Episcopalians and Protestant Episcopalians. The use of these terms varied according to the circumstances of the clergy, and while, generally speaking, the word Episcopal was employed to define the clergy's position in relation to ultra Protestantism, and the word Protestant to express their opposition to the Church of Rome, a study of the ecclesiastical records of single colonies may demonstrate the fact more clearly.

The Colonial Congress which met at Albany, in 1754, to devise measures to prevent further encroachments of the French, agreed to limit the colonies "by the Allegheny or Apalachian mountains, and that measures be taken for settling from time to time colonies of his Majesty's Protestant subjects westward of said mountains."* It was during the French and Indian wars that the Protestantism of the Anglo-Americans was first strongly asserted, and members of the Church of England regarded that Church in America as participating in that Protestantism. Thus the Rev. Geo. Keith wrote, in 1703, that the

* New York Hist. Col. Vol. VI, p. 888.

Quakers in America had advanced their cause "by their grossly misrepresenting the doctrine of the Church of England and of all other Protestant Churches," and Secker, Archbishop of Canterbury, referring to the attacks made by dissenters against the society, wrote that they alleged "that we have unwarrantably changed our object from the propagation of Christianity and Protestantism to the propagation of one form of it in opposition to other Protestants." At the same time Archbishop Secker stated that the intention of sending a bishop to America was not to exercise jurisdiction over dissenters, but "merely to ordain ministers for Episcopal congregations."* He also wrote of the "Episcopal clergy" in America in 1761; Bishop Sherlock used the phrase "the Episcopal Church in America," and those colonies where the Church of England had gained a foothold were called "Episcopal colonies."† In Virginia, where the Church of England may be said to have been established from the time when Hunt ministered unto the

* Coll. Prot. Epis. Hist. Soc., 1851, p. 20; New York Hist. Coll., Vol. VII, pp. 347-348.

† N. Y. Hist. Coll., Vol. VII, pp. 364, 454; Prot. Epis. Hist. Soc., p. 159.

first settlers, few occasions arose which required the Church to express particularly either her Episcopacy or her Protestantism. But Governor Berkeley was instructed by his King as follows: "We oblige you in your own house and family to the profession of the Protestant religion according as it is now established in our own kingdom of England."* Provision was made for services for the Protestant Germans on the Rappahannock river and for the French Protestants at Manican town; Governor Spotswood wrote in 1714: "I intend to appoint a day of general thanksgiving and rejoicing for the blessing we enjoy of a Protestant successor in the person of our present sovereign, King George."† The clergy of Virginia, with the Rev. Commissary Dawson, addressing the King on the subject of the French and Indian war, wrote that they had endeavored to impress upon the people their danger "from the unjustifiable encroachments of a Popish and arbitrary power, and also to animate them by all forcible means to a lively defence of

* Neill. *Virginia Carolorum*, p. 293.

† Spotswood Letters. Vol. II, p. 75.

those invaluable rights and privileges, which are confirmed to them by the Protestant succession;" and the Bishop of London wrote in 1775, when Davies was preaching Presbyterianism in Virginia, that it was "a country entire Episcopal."*

Nowhere else in America was the Church of England more positively held to be Protestant than in Maryland. The demesne of a Romanist, and founded with the celebration of mass by a Jesuit, the province, through the humanity and enlightened policy of the lord proprietor, was the home of individuals differing widely among each other in matters of religion.

Members of the Church of England were in the province probably from the time of its settlement, and soon claimed their rights. In 1638 action was taken against William Lewis, against whom "a paper had been drawn up by his servants (Protestants) that he had interfered with their reading Mr. Smith's sermon." The secretary, John Lewger, found that he had exceeded his powers in forbidding his servants "to read a book otherwise allowed and lawful to be read by the

State of England," and Lewis gave security for good behavior, and promised not to "use any ignominious words or speeches touching the books or ministers authorized by the State of England."* The "Protestant Catholicks" of Maryland petitioned the Assembly in March, 1642, against Thomas Gerard for having taken their chapel key and books, and he being found guilty was fined 500 pounds of tobacco, to be used "towards the maintenance of the first minister as should arrive."† By the will of Robert Cager, in 1675, his real and personal estate was left to the inhabitants of St. George's and Poplar Hundred, St. Mary's county, "for the maintenance of a Protestant ministry."‡ These statements in themselves seem to refer to the Church of England, and they are likewise supported by the remarks of Alsop in 1666, that in Maryland "the Roman Catholick and the Protestant Episcopal" lived in harmony.§ The religious dissensions in England during the reign

* Streeter Papers, p. 212.

† Md. Assembly Proceedings, (1638-54,) p. 119.

‡ Ibid, (1660-76,) p. 530.

§ Alsop. Character of the Province of Maryland, p. 45.

of Charles II had their counterpart in Maryland, and more than once attempts were made to have the province taken from the hands of the Romanist proprietor. While Charles (Lord Baltimore) was in England answering complaints made against him, the Rev. John Yeo wrote, in 1676, to Archbishop Sheldon a letter, in which he stated that in Maryland there "are but three Protestant ministers of us yt are conformable to ye doctrine and discipline of ye Church of England;" "noe care is taken, or provision made, for the building up Christians in the Protestant religion, by means whereof many dayly fall away either to Popery, Quakerism, or Phanaticism," and asked that "a maintenance for a Protestant ministry may be established."*

The agitation against the Baltimores was continued until, in 1689, occurred the Protestant revolution, which, corresponding to the English revolution, which placed William and Mary on the throne, wrested the power from Lord Baltimore's representatives and the government was seized by associates, "for the defense of the Protestant

* Quoted in Anderson's Col. Church, Vol. II, pp. 611-613.

religion.” The results of the revolution were that Maryland became a royal province, the charter having been forfeited, and the Church of England was established by law in an act of 1692 “for the service of Almighty God and the establishment of the Protestant religion.” This act and an additional one with the same title were repealed by another act of 1696, which was not approved by William III because a clause declaring “all the laws of England to be in force” within the province was not embraced in the title, and it was not until 1702 that the establishment was completed in “an act for the establishment of religious worship in this province according to the Church of England.”* The oaths taken by vestryman under the establishment were based upon the struggle of the Church of England with Rome. The test oath subscribed to by every church officer was: “We, the subscribers, do declare that we do believe that there is not any transubstantiation in the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper or in the elements of bread or wine at or after the consecration thereof by any person

* Bacon. Laws of Maryland, 1692, 1695, 1700, 1702.

or persons whatsoever," and the oath of allegiance and abjuration declared the independence of the crown of England of any foreign power and the falseness of the doctrine "that princes excommunicated or deprived by the Pope or any authority of the see of Rome may be deposed or murdered by their subjects." This oath was the same as that taken by deacons, as was also the oath instituted after the accession of George I relating to the Protestant succession.*

The clergy, with their ordination oath before them, and members of successive vestries, who took the usual oaths, could not forget the Protestant character of the Church of England, and phrases to be found scattered among the archives prove that they did not. The clergy of Maryland were called "Episcopal clergymen." In a letter on "the present state of the Protestant religion in Maryland" (1699-1700) reference is made to "a perpetual succession of Protestant divines of the Church of England;" in 1698 complaint was made that the Romanists had withdrawn persons

*Bacon. Laws of Md. 1702, 1715. Ingle. Parish Institutions of Maryland, p 13.

from "the Protestant religion by law established," and that the Assembly desired "to have ye Protestant religion according to the Church of England established." The Rev. Christopher Wilkinson is the authority for the statement, in 1718, that the Governor was a friend of "our church and the Protestant religion." The Rev. Commissary Jacob Henderson wrote in 1724 of the "Protestant clergy" and the "clergy and Protestant laity here," and four years previously had said to the clergy: "I pray God nothing but the true interest of the Protestant religion as established here;" and after the restoration of the province to the proprietor (1715), upon his becoming a member of the Church of England, the clergy were told by Lord Baltimore that "the Protestant religion is the basis and foundation of our happy constitution."*

The question of the justness of an establishment in Maryland will not be discussed in this paper, but it may be said that among its chief opponents were the Quakers, who nearly two centuries ago

* Documents relating to Col. Church Hist. Md. pp. 8, 24, 33, 35, 108, 118, 282, 301. Coll. Prot. Epis. Hist. Soc. pp. 92, 102.

contended for a principle, which has not yet been successfully asserted in England.

The equitable character of Penn's policy, second only to that of the Lords Baltimore, and the tolerance in religious affairs shown towards the settlers of Pennsylvania, induced men of many persuasions to attach themselves to the colony. In the charter was a clause permitting a clergyman of the Church of England to live undisturbed in the province, whenever twenty inhabitants desired his ministrations, and under that provision the Rev. Mr. Clayton became, in 1695, the first rector of a church in Philadelphia. Though for a time the Church of England was represented in the colony only by a few members in Philadelphia and its vicinity, the zealous missionaries of the Society gradually gathered congregations in the parts of the country at some distance from the capital, and in spite of the accusations brought against Penn of Jesuitism, and the general belief that the Quakers were leagued in England with the Romanists, the Church of England in Pennsylvania was but little hampered in her growth by Quaker influence.

But her position among ultra Protestant Church bodies required at times the use of the name Episcopal, and the events of the French and Indian war brought out expressions of her Protestantism. In 1718, the church wardens of Trinity church, Oxford, expressed their "entire love and a great regard for the prosperity of the Protestant religion of the Church of England;" the missionaries were called "Episcopal ministers" in 1728, and in 1741 the members of "the Episcopal Church at Chester" spoke of their past enjoyment of "the benefit of a Protestant teacher" in their school, and considered Charles Fortescue, who had offered himself for that position, "a zealous Protestant of the Church of England."*

During the war, which brought devastation upon American pioneers, the Rev. William Smith wrote, in 1756, to England with reference to the subject of missionaries on the frontiers: "The more I consider it the more I see its importance to the Protestant interests. If the people of the frontiers were duly sensible of our inestimable privileges, and animated with the true spirit of Protest-

*Documents relating to Col. Church Hist. Pa., pp. 115, 163, 185, 219.

antism, they would be as a wall of brass around these Colonies," and that "our Popish enemies, the French, have lately planted a few colonies of Germans and other Catholics on the Ohio." He hoped, nevertheless, "to succeed in making our Germans speak English and become good Protestants."* Of the same mind was the Rev. Thomas Barton, who in 1756 had been enabled "to do some service to our pure Protestant religion," and who was rejoiced to see his "people crowding with their muskets on the shoulders, declaring they will dye Protestants and freedmen sooner than live idolaters and slaves." Notwithstanding his belief that "the French King has rather served than injured the Protestant cause in these parts," the Rev. Mr. Barton served his King as chaplain of the troops under General Forbes in 1756, discharging what the General called his "ministerial and Episcopal duty to the troops of the Episcopal persuasion," and the members of the "Episcopal churches" in York and Cumberland counties regretted his absence.

*N. Y. Hist. Coll. Vol. VII. p. 165.

To a communication from "the Episcopal clergy of the province" in 1760, Governor Hamilton replied that he would do everything that might "tend to the advantage of the Protestant religion and of the Church of England." Rev. P. Reading thought that the great importance of the mission at Apoquinimunk "to the society, and indeed to every sincere lover of the Protestant cause, is its lying contiguous to a very considerable Popish seminary" in Maryland. The clergy of Pennsylvania framed in 1760 an address to the Archbishop of Canterbury upon his elevation, which they believed was an example of "the providence of God in behalf of the Protestant cause." The Rev. Hugh Neill made mention in 1763 of the "Episcopal clergy" of Philadelphia, and the congregation at Reading was called "Episcopal" by its church wardens and vestrymen.*

The state of the Church of England in New York was somewhat similar to that in Pennsylvania, although in the former province there were not as many Quakers, and provision was made by

*Doc. Col. Ch. Hist. Pa. pp. 272, 274, 283, 284, 285, 295, 297, 313, 317, 354, 384, 454.

the government for the support of Church of England ministers. The cosmopolitan character of the settlements, however, tended towards religious tolerance, and in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries congregations of the Dutch and French Churches were successfully gathered. Being one of the border colonies between other English settlements and New France, New York could not but be one of the strongholds of Protestantism, and the friendship of the powerful Five Nations, whose influence extended from the St. Lawrence to the Ohio, was eagerly sought by the English against England's rival in North America.

The French Jesuits, with missionary zeal most commendable, were the pioneers of French discoveries along the great lakes and the Mississippi, and they labored fearlessly in the wilderness to convert the Indians to their faith. To counteract this influence, the Five Nations and the English were united in efforts to obtain Church of England missionaries for the Indians. The Mohawks represented to Governor Slaughter in 1691 that they had "partaken of that benefit to be instructed in the religion of the great King of Eng-

land, that is, the Protestant religion," and the Governor, in reply, called attention to the difference between the "Reformed religion and that of the Romans," and encouraged the Indians to hope for support from "our great Protestant King." The agents of New York besought in 1696 the commissioners of plantations "that some English clergy may be encouraged to dwell for some time amongst those people (the Indians) to endeavour their conversion to the Protestant religion," and the Earl of Bellamont, who had been instructed by William III "to allow liberty of conscience to all persons except Papists," told the Count of Frontenac, in Canada, that the Indians were opposed to the Jesuits, and wished "to have some of our Protestant ministers among them." The commissioners of New York told the Indians in 1700 that the Governor "expects orders to settle some Protestant ministers among you," and Gov. Bellamont informed them that "when you are acquainted with our religion, that is, the Protestant religion, you will find it grounded on principles of truth and righteousness, and not on

lying artifices, which the Jesuits teach and practice.” Rev. Samuel Johnson, of King’s College, classed himself with the “Episcopalians.” The funds by which Trinity Church, New York, was placed on a sure foundation were granted by the King “to the rector and inhabitants of our said city of New York in communion of our Protestant Church of England, as now established by our laws,” “for the use of those, who might from time to time be inhabitants of the city of New York, in communion with the said Protestant Church of England, as established by law.” Frequent use of similar language was made in the minutes of the vestry, the language was repeated in a Latin inscription over the door of the church, and the church wardens and vestrymen of Trinity church petitioned, in 1698, Archbishop Tenison as follows: “We humbly lay this matter to your gracious consideration, earnestly beseeching your Grace, as we are part of that Church and nation over which God in a most eminent station has placed you, we may be safe under your protection, and that this hopeful foundation of an English

Protestant Church in these parts of the world may receive no mischief.”*

While in Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania and New York the Protestantism of the Church was thus announced, her Episcopal character was equally emphasized in New England. There in early days the fasts and festivals of the Church were under a ban. The observance of Christmas day particularly offensive. People were led to regard her as Romish, and, hence, she being the dissenting Church had to struggle for very existence. Surrounded by Independency though she was, the Church ultimately thrived, but by her Episcopal claims stood opposed to sectarian organization. In the early records one reads of “Episcopal churches,” a petition of “the Episcopal ministers in this province,” of the “Episcopal clergy” excluded from Harvard, and of the “Episcopal church” in Boston. Governor Belcher stated in 1731 that “the Episcopal clergy think the Church of England the best Church in the world ;” in a

* N. Y. Hist. Coll. Vol. III, p. 771; Vol. IV, pp. 254, 288, 368, 527, 656, 727; Vol. VII., p. 498. Berrian. “The Rector Rectified,” p. 14. Berrian. History of Trinity Church, pp. 22, 24.

petition from citizens of Newbury allusion was made to "the Episcopal Church of England." Rev. Timothy Cutler wrote in 1728 that "the Episcopal Church has very sensibly increased here." Rev. Roger Price in 1731 styled himself "commissary of the Episcopal Church in New England," and C. J. Lawton deeded in 1743 a farm for the support of "the Episcopal Church of England." In Connecticut were "Episcopalians," an "Episcopal congregation at Fairfield," "Episcopal parishioners," and many instances occur of the use of the word Episcopal, as where mention is made of the "Episcopal Church in that colony" and of "his Majesty's subjects of the Episcopal Church in America.*

In spite of the fact that New England was the home pre-eminently of ultra Protestantism, the Church of England clergy found occasion to declare her Protestantism. Smarting under opposition, one claimed that the Church of England was included in the charter of William and Mary, whereby "all Protestants are entitled to

* Doc. Col. Ch. Hist. Mass., pp. 107, 171, 174, 210, 264, 270, 272, 366, 375. Church Documents, Conn., Vol I, pp. 72, 101, 171, 228, 267; Vol. II, pp. 78, 91, 107.

* * * an universal freedom and liberty of conscience;" and Rev. Timothy Cutler, with reference to the same charter, complained of the New Englanders for "depriving us of that equal liberty which is thereby allowed to Protestants of all denominations." Rev. Stephen Roe, describing, in 1742, a visit he had made to the northeastern part of Massachusetts, wrote: "I found many families of his Majesty's subjects, chiefly Irish Protestants, scattered there who were baptized and bred in our Church's doctrine and worship," and he ascribed to the residence of Roman missionaries among the Indians "the success of Popery above the Protestant religion." To allay the fears of Independents, it was stated that in New England "the Church of England desires that all its fellow-Protestants may enjoy the full exercise of their religion." The Rev. Mr. Dibblie, of Stamford, Conn., said 1765: "I endeavor, both in public and private, to inculcate the great duty of obedience and subjection to the government in being, and steadfast adherence to that well-tempered frame of polity upon which this Protestant Church of ours is built."

And the clergy of Connecticut and New York united in 1766 in a petition to the Bishop of London "to procure a worthy Protestant Bishop or two in some of these colonies, especially since the Roman Catholics are so happy as to be indulged with a Popish one."*

In the Carolinas, where liberty of conscience was assured to all persons save Papists, and where there was an establishment, there were few occasions for the Church of England to use any other name, though church officers were required to take the usual oaths. The situation in Delaware was like that in Pennsylvania, and that in New Jersey like that in New York. In New Jersey, however, the Rev. John Talbot, who was accused of having obtained consecration to the Episcopal office from the Scottish non-jurors, wrote: "I know no soul in the church of Burlington, nor in any other church I have planted, but is well affected to the Protestant Church of England."†

But enough has been quoted to show the Protestantism of the Church of England in the

* Doc. Col. Ch. Hist. Mass., pp. 276, 282, 316, 365; Prot. Epis. Hist. Sec., p. 159. Church Doc. Conn., Vol. II, pp. 84, 101.

† Perry. Amer. Epis. Ch. Vol. I, p. 549.

Anglo-American colonies. The attempts of the members of that communion to strengthen her Episcopacy by having bishops resident in America demonstrated that the Church of England here was regarded both as Protestant and as Episcopal.

III.

THE ADOPTION OF THE TITLE.

The desire to have a bishop of the Church of England in America existed almost from the time of the settlement of this country. Many efforts, all equally futile, were made during the latter half of the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth to satisfy this longing, and the twenty years preceding the American Revolution were marked by vigorous attempts to obtain a bishop on the part of the members of the Church of England in this country and in England, which were thwarted by a determined opposition on both sides of the Atlantic. The Bishop of London had, *ex officio*, the general oversight of the Church in the Colonies; but the distance from America was too great for him to do more than ordain a few candidates for the ministry, who braved two ocean trips, at a great expense, to receive ordination.

A kind of compromise was attempted in the appointment of commissaries, but they could exercise no episcopal functions, save that of supervision of the clergy, and their presence in the colonies did not put an end to the agitation for a suffragan bishop, but rather increased its strength. Those persons who favored the plan, as Episcopalians, thought it but just and right that they should not be separated from episcopacy by the ocean. The rite of confirmation was not administered, and those men in America who desired to be admitted to orders could obtain them only in England. It was contended that an American episcopate could but strengthen the ties between the mother country and her colonies, and that the clergy would be spurred on to more united and energetic work by the presence of their ecclesiastical superiors. The opponents of the design, among whom were laymen of the Church, thought that it would introduce into America complications in politics, due to the closer union of State and Church. Those colonies which had been wholly or partly settled by men opposed to the English Church expected a forced return to their

former condition, and some persons claimed that the episcopate having been obtained the colonial dependence would thereby be weakened. As the discussion was strongest at the time when the English government was attempting the oppressive measures which culminated in the Revolution of 1776, the feeling against the Church became more and more pronounced, not only in those colonies where she had been established, but also where she was considered a dissenting body, and this feeling was one of the many causes that produced American independence.

When the Revolutionary war began, many of the clergy, who felt bound by their oaths, returned to England. Some, after vain endeavors to oppose the changes, resigned themselves to the force of superior circumstances and passively awaited the issue of the struggle, and others boldly upheld the cause of the colonies. The war greatly weakened the Church, particularly in those colonies—such as Virginia and Maryland—where she had previously been strongest. Disestablishment, the withdrawal of support, moral and temporal, and the general carelessness result-

ing from a long war impaired her usefulness ; but when peace had been concluded, and even before that event, her members sought to repair her fortunes and to place her on a firm and enduring foundation ; and though some opposition was still shown against her, the results of the war had removed most of the causes for apprehension that the mere mention of episcopacy had once produced, and the Church was aided by civil authorities in obtaining the episcopal succession from England.

The war had not changed her character. She was regarded as the legal successor, or rather survivor, of the Church of England by her members and by the State of Maryland and elsewhere. But, while individuals in the United States and in England spoke of her as “the Church,” “the Episcopal Church,” “the American Church,” “the Catholic Church,” etc.,—names used in common parlance even to-day—the Church, as a body, in General Convention and in Diocesan Conventions, substituted for the legal and official title, Church of England, the legal and official title, “The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America.”

Bishop White wrote that “a new name does not characterize the Church as new, but may arise from civil changes, in various ways to be conceived of. What was called formerly the Church of England in America did not cease to exist on the removal of the episcopacy of the Bishop of London by the providence of God, but assumed a new name as the dictate of propriety.”* By the phrase new name Bishop White undoubtedly meant its use as the formal title as distinguished from that of the Church of England, and not a term coined or invented for the occasion; for proofs are at hand that the name Protestant Episcopal, embodying the two patent characteristics of the Church—viz., her Protestantism and her Episcopacy—and being a natural combination of terms, was used as the informal or popular synonyme of the Church of England. Archbishop Secker, writing, in 1759, of the difficulties under which the Church in the colonies labored, used the name, and at the same time unconsciously, perhaps, explained it in the sentences: “The churches abroad of the Episcopal

* White, *Memoirs, &c.*, p. *xxx*.

communion have been under the necessity of submitting to these difficulties, for as Protestants they cannot apply to Popish bishops for confirmation or orders, and as Episcopal churches they could resort for orders only to English or Irish bishops. But since the Moravians have been recognized by Parliament to be a Protestant Episcopal Church, and have liberty to settle in his Majesty's American Dominions, should the churches abroad admit of ordination by Moravian bishops, it may be attended by consequences not easily foreseen, but easily prevented by suffering the Episcopal churches of England in America to have one or more suffragan bishops residing among them."* The inferences from these words of the prelate, who was most active in the movement for an American episcopate, are that the members of the Church of England considered themselves as Protestant Episcopalians, and that the rulers of the Church were most desirous of promoting her special interests and retaining her membership in America.

* N. Y. Hist. Coll. Vol. VII, p. 365.

That the term was not an unusual one is proven by its use by Alsop in 1666, quoted in the preceding chapter, and the petition of the Massachusetts representatives in 1768, wherein were set forth the supposed injustice of "the establishment of a Protestant episcopate in America" among the people whose fathers fled from such an establishment." * The Rev. George Berkeley, of Oxford, Eng., asked, in 1782, "whether this be not a time peculiarly favorable to the introduction of the Protestant episcopate" into America; for, he continued, "as to American *Protestant* episcopacy (for *Popish* prelacy hath found its way into the transatlantic world) one sees not anything complicated or difficult in the *mere planting* it." Turning, as did Seabury, to the Episcopal Church of Scotland, he asked if any one could be found "who would convey the great blessing of the Protestant episcopate from the persecuted Church of Scotland to the struggling, persecuted Protestant Episcopalian worshippers in America," and thought it was the duty of the Scottish bishops "to contribute

* Coll. Prot. Epis. Hist. Soc. Vol. I, p. 156.

towards sending into the New World Protestant bishops." "Provincial assemblies," he contended, writing a year later, "will not now or soon think of excluding a Protestant bishop who sues for toleration. Popish prelates are now in North America exercising their functions over a willing people without any aid or encouragement from provincial assemblies. In a short time we must expect all Protestant Episcopalian principles to be lost." Referring to Seabury's arrival in England, he expressed to Bishop Skinner, of Scotland, the belief "that the king, *some* of his cabinet counsellors, all our bishops, except, perhaps, the Bishop of St. Asaph, and all the learned and respectable clergy in our Church, will, at least, secretly rejoice if a Protestant bishop be sent from Scotland to America," and thought that "the glory of communicating a Protestant episcopacy to the united and independent States of America seems reserved for the Scotch bishops;" and Bishop Kilgour, the Primus, expressed "his hearty concurrence in the proposal for introducing Protestant episcopacy into

America.”* Granville Sharp, Esq., another Englishman interested in the extension of the Church of England, wrote, in 1785, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, that “America is not the only part wherein Protestant episcopacy is likely to be extended when the rights of election are better understood; for had I been prepared in the year 1767 on this point as I am at present, I have reason to believe that a Protestant Episcopal Church would have been planted in Holland and in several parts of Germany and Switzerland before this time.”†

But the most convincing proof that the name was well known and recognized is the ease with which it was adopted as the legal title of the Church in the United States. In many States it was adopted almost simultaneously, and there is nothing in the Journals of the General or Diocesan Conventions, in the writings of the leaders in the organization of the Church, or in those of the English archbishops and bishops, which can lead one to think that the title was

* Ch. Doc. Conn. Vol. II, pp. 235-239.

† White. *Memoirs, &c.*, p. 371.

believed to be irregular, novel or objectionable.*

The title chosen may be considered as an aggressive one in itself, and nothing less could have been expected from the Conventions, "the lay part consisting principally of gentlemen who had been active in the late revolution," and the clergy numbering among themselves such men as White, who had boldly espoused the cause of America and had ministered as chaplain to the Continental Congress, or as Provoost, who preferred to retire from his New York pulpit rather than by his silence to countenance appar-

*Beardsley, in his "Life and Correspondence of Samuel Seabury," p. 369, states that "the title, *Protestant Episcopal Church*, was distasteful to some of the Connecticut clergy," and quotes, in substantiation of this statement, a letter written, in 1786, to Rev. A. Beach by Rev. Jeremiah Leaming, in which the latter speaks of "the style they have given to the Church, which is this, the *Protestant Episcopal Church*. The Church of England is not called a Protestant Church, but a *Reformed Church*; they never entered any protest against the civil powers; they reformed as a nation; it never had the title of Protestant given to it by any sensible writer, unless he was a Scotchman." (p. 370). Rev. Mr. Leaming, if he had read history, had not read it aright, for his statement, like some which have been made in later days, seems to have been born of his inner consciousness. Beardsley, also, quotes an equally strong argument from a letter of Rev. Dr. Jarvis, written twenty years later—some years after the reverend gentleman had signed the Constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church—in which he expressed the wish that "the constitution and canons might be headed 'by the words' of the *reformed*, instead of the *Protestant Episcopal Church*," as he was "confident such a head would be more consistent with correct notions of the Church" (p. 371). It will be remembered that those two clergymen represented about one-tenth of the clergy of Connecticut, and a much smaller proportion of the clergy in the United States.

ently the attacks upon American liberty.* The first use of the term after the declaration of independence seems to have been by the clergy of Pennsylvania. On May 20, 1778, the "case of the Protestant Episcopal missionaries of Pennsylvania" was laid before the State authorities, in which was set forth the deplorable condition of the "Protestant Episcopal missionaries," due to the war with England, whereby they were cut off from "their ecclesiastical superiors at home." The plea was signed by the Rev. Thomas Barton, on behalf of himself and the other "Protestant Episcopal missionaries."† Two years later the Convention of Maryland clergy adopted the title, and it was frequently used in that State before the General Convention was organized, and in August, 1783, was published "a declaration of certain fundamental rights and liberties of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Maryland," in which the term appearing in the title was employed several times; and in 1784 the Maryland Legislature by enactment recognized four

* White. *Memoirs*, p. 111.

† Doc. Col. Ch, Hist. Pa., p. 491.

clergymen as “a committee appointed in behalf of the clergy of the Protestant Episcopal Church in this State (formerly denominated the Church of England).”*

In various parts of the country at that time movements were started tending towards a union of the churches in all the States. In May, 1784, a meeting was held in New Brunswick, N. J., for the purpose of reviving a charitable organization that had existed previous to the war with England. The members of that meeting, learning that the clergy of Pennsylvania had discussed a plan for reorganizing the Church, fell in with the spirit of the undertaking, and adjourned until the following October, when the meeting at New York was attended by clergymen from Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia. The New York meeting adopted certain proposals, which were sent to the Episcopal churches in the United States, for “a General Convention of the Episcopal Church in the United States of America.”†

* White. *Memoirs, &c.*, p. 103; Green, *Laws of Md.*, 1784.

† White. *Memoirs, &c.*, p. 87.

In the propositions of the New York meeting the Church was called Episcopal. The printed record of its proceedings was entitled a "Journal of a Convention of Clergymen and Lay Deputies of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America." The proceedings are thus quoted in a "Journal of the Meetings which Led to the Institution of a Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church" in Pennsylvania, and an old broadside is preserved, probably a copy of the notice sent to the churches in several of the States, in which the same title is employed.*

What may be considered the first General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America met at Philadelphia in September, 1785, and several months before that time the churches in all the seven States, except Delaware, which were represented in the Convention had adopted the title "Protestant Episcopal"—Maryland in November, 1780; Pennsylvania in May, 1785; Virginia in May, New York in June, South Carolina and New Jersey in July of the same year. In October,

* Pa. Dioc. Con. Jour., p. 8. Fac simile doc., No. 27.

1784, the Virginia Assembly passed "an act for incorporating the Protestant Episcopal Church" in that State (repealed 1786), and the first Convention issued an address "to the members of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Virginia," and quoted the first recommendation of the New York Convention as "that there shall be a General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church." The vestries of St. Philip's and St. Michael's churches, Charleston, S. C., prepared February 8, 1785, an address to the "Protestant Episcopal Church" in that State, which resulted in the first diocesan Convention. The Pennsylvania Convention of 1785 adopted as a preamble: "Whereas by the late revolution the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America is become independent of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of England," and as one of a number of resolutions, that the title should be "the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of Pennsylvania;" and the New Jersey Convention referred to "a General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church" to be held.* The Journals

* Journals of Diocesan Conventions. Dashiell, Digest, etc., pp. 29-31; Henning, Statutes (Va.), Vol. XI, p. 532; Dalcho, Church of South Carolina, pp. 463-466.

of the first Convention of the Church in Delaware are not, it is believed, in existence, unless in manuscript, and therefore nothing is known of the name adopted. None of the New England churches were represented in the General Convention of 1785; they seeming to disapprove of a plan of reorganizing the Church before the complete episcopate had been secured, there being but one Bishop, Seabury, in America.

The title page of the printed copy of the proceedings of the first General Convention is inscribed, "Journal of a Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia and South Carolina." "The resolutions of a Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church" held in New York in October, 1784, were recalled, a committee was appointed to draw up an "ecclesiastical constitution for the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America," and also a committee to make "alterations of the liturgy of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, in order to render the same conform-

able to the American revolution and the constitutions of the respective States." * The constitution, in which the title appears several times, was approved of by the Convention, and an address was sent to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and the bishops of England regarding the episcopate. In the Journals of subsequent Conventions, and in the correspondence with the English prelates and with President George Washington, the title "Protestant Episcopal" was used almost uniformly; and the Rev. Dr. William White, who had been so active in furthering the interests of the Church, was consecrated a bishop of "the Protestant Episcopal Church" at Lambeth, February 4, 1787, together with the Rev. Dr. Samuel Provoost, of New York. The consecration papers of Bishop Provoost, or copies of them, were not accessible to the author of this pamphlet, but he and Bishop White called themselves bishops of "the Protestant Episcopal Church" in later documents.

Bishop White, moreover, in his letters from England, used the terms "the Church," "the

* Fac simile reprint of Journal, pp. 5, 6, 8, 9, 12.

American Church," "the Episcopal Church," etc., but invariably wrote at the end: "To the Committee of the Protestant Episcopal Church."* He entitled his chief work: "Memoirs of the Protestant Episcopal Church," and dedicated it to the bishops of that Church; wrote "Lectures on the Catechism of the Protestant Episcopal Church," and, in a letter, under date of December 1, 1785, to Mr. Charles Miller, of Boston, he wrote: "Of all the members of the Protestant body, the Church of England has been the strongest bulwark against her [the Church of Rome], from the circumstances of retaining more than others of those ancient institutions which were prior to her corruptions. I cannot bear the thought of our communion's losing in the New World what has been our glory in the Old."† Such were Bishop White's views on the Protestantism of the Church, and no one can doubt the soundness of his opinions as to episcopacy, or believe that his plan, set forth, in "The Case of the Episcopal Churches

* White. *Memoirs, &c.*, pp. 145, 147, 154, 348, 353, 358, 382, 398.

† Wilson. *Memoir of Bishop White*, pp. 305, 306, 327.

in the United States Considered," was intended to be anything but temporary.

The same causes which made prominent in colonial New England the term Episcopal as applied to the Church doubtless operated towards the retention of the term after the revolution. The Rev. Dr. Samuel Seabury was consecrated to the episcopate November 14, 1874, by the non-juring bishops of Scotland, one of whom, Bishop Kilgour, the Primus, it will be remembered, had shortly before that time heartily concurred in the proposition of introducing "Protestant episcopacy into America," and in the Concordat between the Scottish bishops and Bishop Seabury, signed November 15, 1874, they agreed that "the Episcopal Church in Connecticut is to be in full communion with the Episcopal Church in Scotland," which is also called "the Catholic remainder of the ancient Church of Scotland.*" Thus the Church in Connecticut was recognized as Catholic, Episcopal and Protestant, and as such was in a position to unite with the Protestant Episcopal Church, her fellow-survivor in

* Facsimile Doc., Nos. 11, 13.

America of the Catholic, Episcopal and Protestant Church of England.

Before the General Convention of July-August, 1789, was laid a communication from the clergy of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, who proclaimed themselves members of the Protestant Episcopal Church, asking that Bishops White, Provoost and Seabury would unite in consecrating the Rev. Edward Bass as bishop. The result of the request was, what from later actions appears to have been designed, a formal vote in favor of the validity of Bishop Seabury's consecration and the adoption of a resolution "that a complete order of bishops, derived as well under the English as the Scots line of episcopacy, doth now subsist within the United States of America in the persons of the Rt. Rev. William White, D. D., bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of Pennsylvania; the Rt. Rev. Samuel Provoost, D. D., bishop of the said Church in the State of New York, and the Rt. Rev. Samuel Seabury, D. D., bishop in the said Church in the State of Connecticut."* At the adjourned meet-

* Journal, July-August, 1789, pp. 8, 10, 53.

ing in September and October of the same year "the Rt. Rev. Dr. Samuel Seabury, bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Connecticut, attended," with other New England clergy, and having effected an amendment to the constitution providing for two houses of Convention, but without attempting to have the title altered, subscribed a minute that "we do hereby agree to the constitution of the Church, as modified this day in Convention,"* and formally signed in the record book, "The Constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America."

* Half statements are calculated to deceive. Perry, in his "Handbook," p. 75, referring to this minute, wrote that "a single sheet of foolscap preserved among the archives of the Church, which we give below, is the record of the formal union of the separated churches in the land." The minute was not the record of the union, which is to be found in the signatures of the bishops and clerical deputies from New England to the constitution. For the convenience of those who have nothing but the "Handbook" to rely upon, the following sentences have been transcribed from the Journal of the Convention of Sept.-Oct., 1789. pp. 7, 8, 10: "Ordered, that the General Constitution of this Church, as now altered and amended, be laid before the Right Rev. Dr. *Seabury* and the deputies from the churches in the Eastern States for their approbation and assent."

After a short time they delivered the following testimony of their assent to the same, viz:

"OCTOBER 2ND, 1789.

"We do hereby agree to the Constitution of the Church as modified this day in Convention." [This was signed by Bishop Seabury, Revs. A. Jarvis, Bela Hubbard and Sam'l Parker.] "After subscribing as above they took their seats as members of the Convention."

The words "subscribing as above" evidently mean signing the Constitution, in accordance with their assent, for the Constitution adopted on the same day is closed with the words: "Ordered to be transcribed into the Book of Records and subscribed, which was done as follows, viz.," and the first signature is that of Bishop Seabury, while the three other New Englanders also signed.

The two houses then adopted, after some days' labors, the Book of Common Prayer, its title page and form of ratification. The book was based upon the English Prayer-book, as had been the proposed book of 1786, prepared by the Committee on the "Alteration in the Liturgy of the Protestant Episcopal Church," etc., and use was made of the latter in the new book.* In the *editio princeps* of the book, printed in 1790, the title page bears the words "Protestant Episcopal Church." The title was copyrighted, and the form of ratification adopted in 1789 is as follows: "The ratification of the Book of Common Prayer by the bishops, the clergy and the laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, in Convention, this 16th day of October, in the year of our Lord 1789. This Convention having in their present session set forth 'A Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church,' do hereby establish the said book; and they declare it to be the Liturgy of this Church, and

* Journal, Sept.-Oct., 1789.

require that it be received as such by all members of the same.”* That by “this Church” was meant the Protestant Episcopal Church is concluded from the fact that the book was reviewed in 1792, certain changes were made, but the title page and the title in the ratification were left intact, and the title “Protestant Episcopal Church” was left in the Constitution and Canons.

The Convocation of Connecticut adopted the constitution of the General Convention in 1789, and the first diocesan Convention adopted the title in 1790, as did also that of Massachusetts in 1791, having used the title the preceding year. At the meeting of the General Convention in 1792 deputies from Rhode Island signed the constitution, a communication was received from the clergy and laity of North Carolina expressing their willingness to accede to the constitution,† and in the consecration of the Rev. Dr. Thomas John Claggett to be “Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church” in Maryland, by Bishops Provoost, White, Seabury and Madison, the two

* See Book of Common Prayer.

† Journals of Dioc. Conventions; Journal Gen. Con., 1792, pp. 8, 11.

lines of the episcopate were united and the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America fully organized and universally recognized by its members. The title, which had its basis in the character of the Church of England, in the use in colonial days of its parts as synonimies of the title of the Church and in its official employment for seven years, remains this day as distinctive and definite as ever, and while its members may call it, The Church, as being a part of the Church of Christ on earth, the same circumstances, which led to the adoption of its distinguishing title, still exist and are likely to remain for many years.

THE END.

THE HISTORIC BASIS
OF
THE TITLE
OF THE
Protestant Episcopal Church.

BY
EDWARD INGLE, A. B.

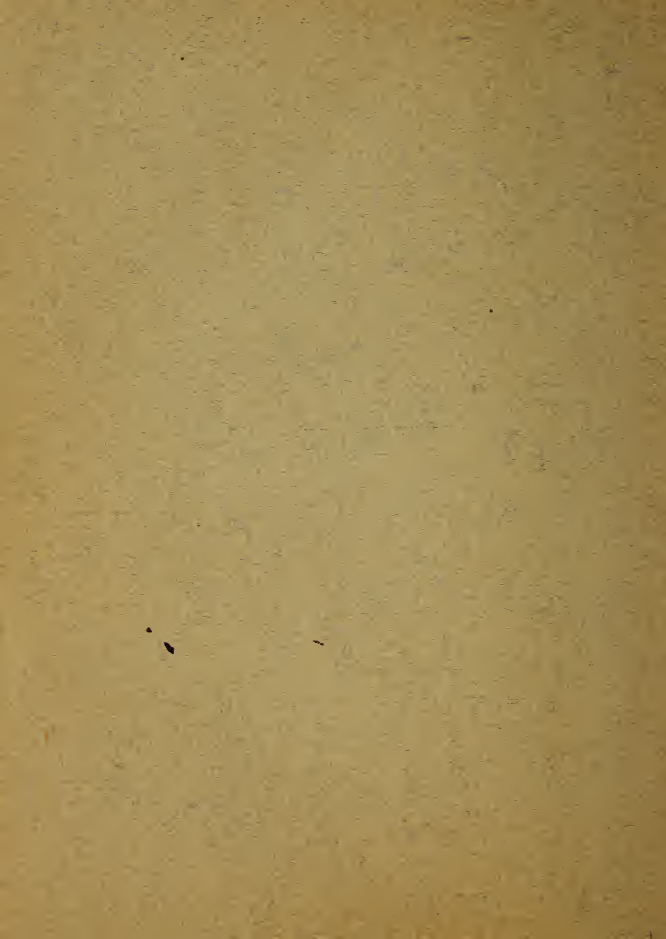
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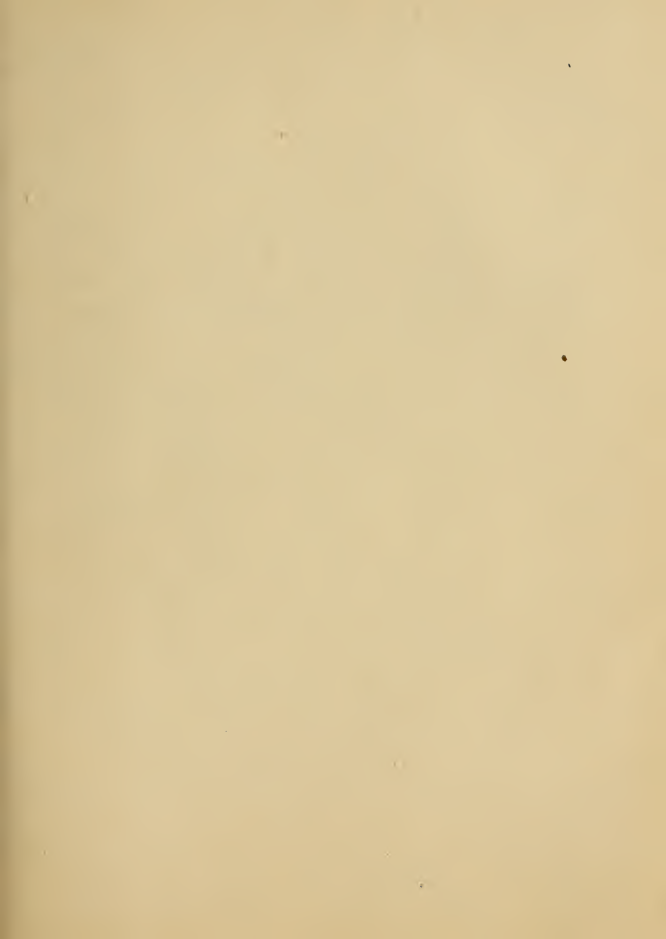
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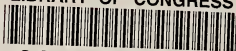
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